

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 AID-05 EB-08 TRSE-00 STR-04
OMB-01 CEA-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 IO-13
COME-00 /138 W

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R 071826Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1228
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 14653

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV NATO GW
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY: FRG CONTRIBUTION ON
"THIRD WORLD AND NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES"

REFS: (A) BONN 13700; (B) STATE 198359; (C) NATO 7699

BEGIN SUMMARY. WHILE HEAVILY EMPHASIZING SOVIET AND EAST
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EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT AID, THE FRG CONTRIBUTION ON THIRD
WORLD ISSUES DOES TREAT IN GENERAL TERMS OTHER
ASPECTS OF SOVIET POLICY IN THE THIRD WORLD. THE FOREIGN
OFFICE BELIEVES IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ELABORATE THESE
ASPECTS IN DETAIL IN A PAPER OF THE ASSIGNED LENGTH.
IT HAS, HOWEVER, GIVEN US A PREVIEW OF THE GERMAN DRAFT
AS IT NOW STANDS, SO THAT THE DEPARTMENT MAY CONSIDER

WHETHER ADDITIONAL PAPERS SHOULD BE ADDED TO THE OUTLINE FOR THE ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY. END SUMMARY.

1. UNDERSTANDING THE DEPARTMENT'S INTEREST IN ASCERTAINING THE SCOPE OF THE FRG CONTRIBUTION ON "THIRD WORLD AND NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES," THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS GIVEN US A PREVIEW OF THE PAPER AS IT NOW STANDS. IT IS STILL IN DRAFT AND BEING CLEARED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE, BUT SOVIET AFFAIRS DIRECTOR KUEHN ON SEPTEMBER 7 BRIEFED EMBOFF ORALLY ON WHAT IS IN THE DRAFT "OVERVIEW" SECTION AND TICKED OFF THE VARIOUS HEADINGS OF THE BODY OF THE PAPER IN OUTLINE FORM.

2. AS NOTED BELOW, THE PAPER HAS A HEAVY CONCENTRATION ON DEVELOPMENT AID ASPECTS BUT DOES TREAT IN GENERAL TERMS POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS AS WELL. IN GOING OVER THE OUTLINE FOR THE ENTIRE EAST-WEST STUDY WITH KUEHN, EMBOFF RAISED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE PAPER AS IT NOW STANDS WOULD TREAT ADEQUATELY FOR PURPOSES OF A STUDY OF THIS SCOPE SOVIET INTENTIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN KEY AREAS OF THE WORLD SUCH AS THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA. KUEHN TOOK THE POINT, BUT THOUGHT IT A PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY TO INCLUDE ANY DETAILED REGIONAL OR COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY TREATMENT IN A SINGLE EIGHT-PAGE PAPER. HE THOUGHT THAT IF FULLER EXAMINATION OF THE
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POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS WAS DESIRED, IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO CALL FOR ADDITIONAL PAPERS ON THE INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS AND PERHAPS TO SUGGEST THAT CONTRIBUTIONS BE MADE BY THE RESPECTIVE REGIONAL EXPERTS. HE AGREED THAT TOO MUCH SPECIFICITY IN THE OUTLINE COULD RAISE OBJECTIONS FROM SOME NATO MEMBERS THAT THE SUBJECTS WERE OUTSIDE THE PROPER SCOPE OF NATO RESPONSIBILITY BUT AGAIN VOICED DOUBTS ABOUT ADEQUATE TREATMENT OF ALL SIGNIFICANT THIRD WORLD ISSUES IN A SINGLE PAPER OF LIMITED SIZE.

3. EMBOFF EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR KUEHN'S PREVIEW OF THE GERMAN DRAFT AND UNDERTOOK TO FORWARD A SUMMARY TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR CONSIDERATION AS TO WHETHER ADDITIONAL PAPERS MIGHT BE SUGGESTED IN NATO.

4. FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF RUNDOWN ON THE INTRODUCTORY "OVERVIEW SECTION" OF THE FRG DRAFT AND AN OUTLINE OF THE BODY OF THE PAPER:

OVERVIEW

SOVIETECONOMIC AND MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE THIRD
WORLD IS AIMED AT SECURING CERTAIN POLITICAL AND MILITARY
SUCCESSIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD. IT IS CONCENTRATED ON
THE MIDDLE EAST AND ARAB COUNTRIES AND ON AFRICA,
ESPECIALLY SOUTHERN AFRICA. AT THE ROOT OF ACTIVITY IN
THE FIELD IS THE AIM OF STABILIZING THE
POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION AS A HEGEMONIC POWER.

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IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT THAT THERE IS A DILEMMA FOR THE
EAST -- FAR-REACHING POLITICAL AMBITIONS VERSUS LIMITED
ECONOMIC POSSIBILITIES.

UP THROUGH THE 1960'S SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN
AID EFFORTS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY CONSIDERABLE
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PROPOGANDA AIMED AT DISGUIISING THE WEAKNESSES
OF THE AID PROGRAM. THE THIRD WORLD, MEANWHILE, HAS
INCREASINGLY TAKEN A MORE SOBER VIEW OF WHAT THE SOVIETS
ARE DOING, WHICH IS RELATIVELY MODEST BY COMPARISON WITH
WESTERN ASSISTANCE (IN THE DEVELOPMENT AID FIELD, AS OPPOSED
TO THE MILITARY FIELD). THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WITH
REFERENCE TO UNCTAD IV, ARE ASKING FOR LOWERING OF
OBSTACLES TO IMPORTS, BETTER CONDITIONS FOR PAYMENT,
AND A GENERAL INCREASE IN SOVIET/EAST EUROPEAN AID.
IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW THESE DEMANDS WILL BE MET,
GIVEN THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE USSR AND
EASTERN EUROPE AND SHORTAGES OF FOREIGN CURRENCY. THE
NEW PROGRAM ADOPTED IN 1976 ENVISAGES AN INCREASE IN
DEVELOPMENT AID BY 50 PERCENT BY 1980.

AS FOR THE "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER," THE
SOVIET UNION HAS TRIED TO TRANSFER THE EAST-WEST DISPUTE
TO THE THIRD WORLD, DENYING THAT A NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEM
EXISTS. SO FAR THERE ARE NO INDICATIONS OF A BASIC
CHANGE IN THE SOVIET ADHERENCE TO THE IDEOLOGICALLY-
BASED POSITION THAT THE PROBLEMS IN THE THIRD WORLD ARE
THE HERITAGES OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM.

IN THIS CONNECTION, WE SHOULD CONSIDER THE QUESTION
OF HOW THE WEST SHOULD HANDLE THE THIRD WORLD CHALLENGE
VIS-A-VIS EASTERN EUROPE FOR A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN
ASSISTANCE. SHOULD WE CONTINUE TO URGE THE SOVIETS TO
PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE? (COMMENT: KUEHN NOTED THAT
THERE WAS A HIDDEN RECOMMENDATION HERE, EVEN THOUGH THIS
IS A TRENDS PAPER. HE THOUGHT IT DESIRABLE FOR THE
ALLIANCE TO CONSIDER AT SOME POINT ITS LONG-RANGE
APPROACH TO THIS CHALLENGE, RECOGNIZING THAT GREATER
SOVIET/EE ASSISTANCE WOULD BE DESIRABLE BUT THAT SOVIET
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AGREEMENT TO COOPERATE WITH THE WEST COULD ALSO HAVE
DISADVANTAGES IN THAT IT COULD PERMIT THE EAST TO DELAY
PROGRESS. END COMMENT

OUTLINE

-- GENERAL SURVEY OF SOVIET POLICY IN THE THIRD
WORLD

-- REGIONAL EMPHASES: MAIN AREAS OF INTEREST IN
PROVIDING DEVELOPMENT AID (LATIN AMERICA, ASIA,
ARAB COUNTRIES, AFRICA)

-- AIMS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE THIRD WORLD:
POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL, CULTURAL, MILITARY,
ECONOMIC

-- STOCK TAKING: SCOPE AND VARIOUS FORMS OF
ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF EASTERN COUNTRIES WITH
THIRD WORLD UP UNTIL NOW (DETAILS ON FOREIGN
TRADE, DEVELOPMENT AID, CREDITS, TECHNICAL
AID AND MILITARY AID)

-- NEW PROGRAMS AND FORMS FOR EASTERN DEVELOPMENT
AID; EFFORTS FOR A COMMON COMECON
PROGRAM

-- NEW SOVIET PROGRAM FOR COOPERATION WITH
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (RAISED AT 25TH PARTY
CONGRESS, AND PURSUED AT NAIROBI IN 1976)

-- EVALUATION: JUDGMENT OF EASTERN DEVELOPMENT
AID BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THEMSELVES
(SEEN POSITIVELY IN THE 1960'S, BUT THE SUBJECT
OF NEW DEMANDS FROM THE THIRD WORLD IN THE
1970'S)

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-- POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE SOVIET/EE POSITION IN
THE LIGHT OF THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NIEO.
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